

THE NEWS OF EUROPE.

FORCING THROUGH THE HOME RULE BILL BY CLOSURE.

THE IRISH LEGISLATIVE CLAUSE PASSED—DECREASE OF THE MINISTRIAL MAJORITY—ARBITRARY METHODS—MR. DILLON'S POSITION—ATTACKS ON THE SPEAKER—

ER—THE PARIS RIOTS—SPEECH OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR—THE ROYAL WEDDING—(BY CABLE TO THE TRIBUNE.)

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London, July 8.—Without debate or opportunity for debate, without amendment or opportunity for moving or discussing amendments, without so much as the reading of the clause, the House of Commons on Thursday set on its Irish Legislative Committee and an Irish Legislative Assembly. Such is the first result of the new system of closure forced upon the House by Mr. Gladstone. It came into operation automatically at ten in the evening. The leader of the Opposition was then speaking. He was silenced by the rising of the Chairman to put the question. The first clause of the bill was then before the House, the clause which deals with the veto power. There is hardly a more important question than the veto, but every proposal to make it a real veto instead of a sham veto was rejected, and the closure then ended all consideration of the matter, and the passage of clauses six, seven and eight followed. There was great excitement. There were cries of "Shame!" and "Gag!" and even "Gag!" all addressed to Mr. Gladstone by the minority on whose rights he was trampling. There were cheers and counter cheers, long sustained. The Irish members indulged in that peculiar pastime known as boozing at their opponents. When the majority for the sixth clause sank to fifteen, a fresh storm broke forth, the Opposition cheering wildly. They provoked Mr. Gladstone into a gesture of contempt, and that provoked an Irish Unionist, Mr. Johnston, into a similar gesture by way of retort. The whole scene was deplorable.

The clauses thus rushed through under the closure were in truth each of them bills, each involving a vast constitutional change. Mr. Gladstone would not permit them to be considered by the House. Never has there been any such exercise of arbitrary power by an English Prime Minister. Thirteen pages of amendments were swept into the waste paper basket when ten o'clock arrived, and before eleven the House of Commons in Committee had settled without one word of debate the composition of the brand new Irish Legislative Council and of the brand new Irish Legislative Assembly. It had called a new Parliament into being, and shorn itself of some of its own most essential legislative authority.

Mr. Gladstone is probably the greatest Member of Parliament who ever lived, and it is his hand and his autocratic will which have reduced the House of Commons to an office for registering his decrees. His own friends and supporters object and protest, but without avail. There are members of his Cabinet who stood out against him, but they have been overruled and overborne, and they had not the courage to resist.

The most radical Home Rule organ in the London press avows that this indiscriminate extinction of all amendments, good and indifferent, would, "under certain circumstances," be intolerable. Then it says: "In short, this closure could not be justified if it were not certain that the bill would come again before the House of Commons." Well, it is not certain the bill will come again before the House of Commons, nor does anybody know, if it does come, when, or how, or in what circumstances it will come. But suppose it does. What guarantee is there that debate will then be permitted? The present unprecedented use of the closure will then have passed into a precedent, and no instrument of injustice is so useful as a precedent.

But all that is in the future and purely conjectural. What we see in the present is an invasion of the liberties of Parliament, totally without precedent or excuse, done entirely by Mr. Gladstone's consciousness that Home Rule cannot be passed, or cannot be passed by him, otherwise than by violence. This violence, perpetrated with the help of a small but sufficient, and, for the most part, servile majority, he now calls "moral force."

The three events which have been most notorious to the Ministry during the week have been: First, the Dillon incident; second, the autocratic operation of the closure; third, the reduction of their majority to fifteen. Solution in any legislative assembly has any member been so suddenly and completely discarded as Mr. Dillon. He was a pillar of Home Rule, not, in fact, in the House, where he never acquired any rity, but in Ireland, where it had become the fashion to praise him for honesty, a doubtful compliment to his conduct. Mr. Chamberlain quoted a week ago from Mr. Dillon's well-known and often quoted speech, in which he threatened vengeance upon the "enemies of the people," and said to Mr. Gladstone, "You are putting it in his power to execute his threat." Mr. Dillon asked for the date and place of the speech. Mr. Chamberlain supplied them on the spot, but Mr. Dillon sat silent. His silence lasted for a week. Then, having taken a week to prepare his defence, he told the House it was true he had threatened vengeance, but the threat was uttered in great provocation, just after the massacre at Mitchellstown, when he had seen three innocent men shot down by the police in cold blood. The Gladstonians cheered him to the echo. Mr. Gladstone, who had moved to be near him, with his hand to his ear, cheered him. Mr. Dillon carried, to some extent, the sympathies of the House with him. His allies at any rate felt that his defence, coupled with an expression of regret, was sufficient. He sat down triumphant.

Mr. Chamberlain rose. "Ah," he said, calmly, "it was the massacre of Mitchellstown which drove Mr. Dillon to make these threats. Does the House know that the massacre of Mitchellstown took place on September 9, 1887, and that Mr. Dillon's speech was delivered on December 5, 1887?" Never was there such a sensation, never such a collapse, never such dismay among the Gladstonians, never such a crushing exposure of a dishonest defence. Mr. Dillon himself sat crushed and uttered not a word. The next day he pleaded feebly that he had confused one speech with another, that he had meant to say "he" "honest" with the House, and that his memory played him false. It would not do. The House, as a matter of courtesy, always accepts a Member's explanations, and takes his word, or gives him the benefit of the doubt. But Mr. Dillon's position, whatever it is, is gone. The attempt to sustain him in the press had no heart in it. Mr. Gladstone, as Mr. Balfour said in the House, retired dismayed. "I did not," retorted the old man, angrily; but the expression of his face told the tale.

For people who like pepper with their politics, the week has been a good one. All parties have had their turn in shaking the box. Mr. Balfour began at Stockport, where he described the "crime" Mr. Gladstone was committing as "the height of political infamy," the crime being nothing less than shattering the Constitution, and silencing his opponents when they wished to discuss his conduct; or, in Mr. Balfour's energetic phrase, "to gag your victim in court and silence him before a hostile jury." No doubt this expresses a very general opinion, but it is only in

a very grave crisis that English statesmen permit themselves the use of such language. Still stronger language was heard in the House itself on Monday. Mr. Chamberlain, by an obvious slip, referred to the Member for North Kerry instead of for East Mayo. That is, to Mr. Sexton instead of Mr. Dillon, as the author of the threats to deal out vengeance on their enemies which they obtained power. "It is an infamous falsehood!" shrieked Mr. Sexton, and when a point of order was taken he repeated the phrase. The Chairman, whose weakness becomes more visible daily, allowed it to pass. This did not prevent Mr. Healy from denouncing him presently as partial, a remark of which Mr. Mellor took no notice.

Mr. Conyngham brought a similar, but more direct, charge against the Speaker himself, writing a letter for that purpose to a paper which has shown singular animosity against Mr. Peel. A member called the attention of the House to this letter. The Speaker contented himself with saying that if his impartiality were to be challenged, he thought it better that it should be done in the House itself, and that he was willing to leave his conduct to the judgment of the House. Mr. Gladstone, in whom his older and better self sometimes reappears, here honorable testimony to the Speaker's uniform impartiality, which Mr. Conyngham stands alone in impeaching.

Then Lord Randolph Churchill went all the way to Carlsruhe in order to express a doubt whether Mr. Gladstone could be more properly called a lunatic or a traitor. His own preference was for the latter word. The crown replies that those are the "confused and chaotic manderings of a weakened and disturbed intelligence."

On Tuesday Mr. Gladstone himself, departing from his almost invariable rule of courtesy to his opponents, denounced Mr. Arnold Forster's criticism upon the Land Leaguers as wanton, venomous and indecent. Mr. Forster was criticizing the very men whom Mr. Gladstone, before he surrendered to them, had described as "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the empire." Mr. Forster is not the wisest of Unionists, but his argument, so far from being wanton, was strictly relevant. "You are going to intrust the government of Ireland," said he, "to men whose politics have always depended on crime."

If this was venomous or indecent, what would Mr. Gladstone say to the Irish member who cried out, "You coward?" What would he say to Mr. Sexton, who convulsed the House with laughter by explaining in his loftiest manner, "I really cannot permit this?" What to the same Mr. Sexton, who refused to allow Mr. Gladstone to speak, and who, it appeared, had addressed the Prime Minister in order to observe that the Unionists are "the party of perjury and forgers?" What, again, to the Mr. Sexton who asked the Chairman after he had said the matter should drop, and then stigmatized Mr. Forster's conduct as "infamous and base?" Or what to the Chairman himself, who, while admitting Mr. Sexton's expressions were out of order, defended the offender on the ground that he was defending himself? The apology, if valid, would cover any excess of speech whatever. In no case should it have been volunteered by a presiding officer. But Mr. Mellor can no longer astonish the House; unless by a display of good sense or firmness.

The Conyngham business came up again last night, when this curiously morose member of the House offered what he called a personal explanation. It was but an aggravation of his former offence, and the Speaker, stung at last by repeated insults, said he would sit quiet no longer. Mr. Conyngham, condemned by everybody, came near being suspended on Mr. Gladstone's motion, seconded by Mr. Balfour. In the end an apology was wrung from him, and suspension was avoided. But Mr. Conyngham must take his place by the side of Mr. Dillon.

A good deal has been said about the rioting in Paris, but for Paris it has not really been very serious. It sounds rather like therelude to something to come, as in 1848 the 15th of May was the prelude to the days of June. But there are interesting points. M. Dupuy has shown more courage and character than he has heretofore had credit for. It was a bold act, as well as a wise one, to close the Labor Exchange, which has become a mere centre of Socialist and Anarchist intrigue and disorder. It was a bold act to tell the Chamber he would not discuss the riots till order had been restored. It was bold to call out the troops, since the mob and their friends in the Chamber always say they are going to be massacred. It will be a weak act if he sacrifices M. Loez, the able Prefect of Police, to the clamor of the criminal classes.

The Chamber is to debate the whole business on Monday, when the Radicals will make a dead set at the Ministry, and the Right may, with their usual want of political sense and good faith, refuse to support a Ministry which keeps order. Paris is, however, seriously alarmed, and the alarm may have a good effect upon the voting.

The German Emperor opened the Reichstag on the Fourth of July with a speech which his subjects and the rest of Europe agree in regarding as moderate and reasonable. If he will maintain that attitude he may probably secure the early passage of an Army bill, not, indeed, in the form he first proposed, but one embodying the offered compromise of the last session. It really seems as if the Emperor were beginning to profit by those lessons of hard experience which heretofore he has stubbornly rejected.

The royal wedding was witnessed by a few hundred people in the tiny little Chapel Royal of St. James's Palace, but this small body of spectators included a great deal of what is most distinguished in England by rank and by public service. It included also the American Ambassador, perhaps the most conspicuous figure in a company among whom he alone wore neither uniform nor court costume, nor decoration, but plain evening dress.

What went on outside was witnessed by a million or two more, nobody knows how many, but the police say the crowd was much more numerous than on Jubilee Day. The whole police force of London was on duty during twenty-four consecutive hours. The troops who lined the streets, as the phrase is, were under arms seven or eight hours. The thin red line was very thin, the men standing each some yards from the other. London decorated herself as well as she knows how, which is not very well. By far the most successful effort was one in St. James's-street, which was turned into an arbor with wreaths and flowers and many colored flags, the whole forming an arch, or rather canopy, the whole length of the street down which the procession passed. The evening illuminations were on a great scale, and the spectators on a greater still.

parent passed off well, and there is official testimony to the fact that Her Majesty was much pleased. It is a popular marriage. The Duke of York is popular, so far as he is known. The Princess May is certainly popular; and the Queen, who is the final authority in all these matters, is still the Queen. It was probably a mistake not to declare a public holiday. The Prime Minister was pressed to propose it to Parliament, but he would not. The workmen, he was told, had no desire for it. They did not wish to lose a day's work and 6 days' pay. Mr. Gladstone does not think he can afford to offend the artisan masses, and probably he cannot. But it seems a solid policy for a country where the throne still stands, and where loyalty to the sovereign is still a deep-rooted feeling among nearly all classes of the English people. G. W. S.

M. DUPUY VIOLENTLY DENOUNCED.

BITTER ATTACKS BY DEPUTIES ON THE GOVERNMENT—THE CHAMBER VOTES—

Paris, July 8.—A violent attack upon M. Dupuy, the Prime Minister, was made in the Chamber of Deputies today by M. Paulin Mey and M. Tony Revillon. The attack had its origin in the course the Government has pursued toward the rioters, and the two deputies were extremely bitter in their denunciation of the Prime Minister.

M. Revillon charged that the Government was alarming the provinces by withdrawing troops from ten departments and drafting them to Paris. The closing of the Labor Exchange, he declared, was a wanton act. There was not a single workman among the rioters. The workmen were devoted to the Republic.

M. Camille Dreyfus protested against the violation by the police of hospitals, referring to the recent arrests of house surgeons at the Charity Hospital on the charge of hissing the police. He also protested against the troops charging upon the people.

M. Dumay, a Socialist, demanded that the Government be impeached.

Their tirades had no effect upon the sentiment of the Chamber, for the House, by a vote of 343 to 134, adopted the order of the day expressing confidence in the Government. The day had been announced. After the reading of the vote had been announced, M. Ernest Roche demanded that M. Dupuy be presented on the charge of fomenting civil war. The Chamber rejected the demand, and at 12:55 o'clock adjourned.

ITALIAN LEGISLATORS ACCUSED.

SIGNOR BOVIO'S ARRANGING OF THE MEN IMPLICATED IN THE BANK ROBBERY CAUSES EXCITEMENT IN THE CHAMBER.

Rome, July 8.—The final debate on the Bank bill in the Chamber of Deputies today was tumultuous. Signor Bovio, who has been energetic in pressing forward the investigation of the frauds, made the speech of the day. The time had come, he said, for all implicated in the bank robbery to explain their actions. Deputies, Senators and Ministers who had sold their hands with the corruption funds scattered by the banks of issue ought now to confess and defend themselves if they could. The country ought to learn who were its dishonest servants.

If the Senate will appoint a new committee of inquiry," continued Signor Bovio, "I will refrain from naming the guilty men. I demand, however, that the guilty men abstain from voting on the measure now before the House. If they do not, I will name them."

Riot broke loose in the Chamber as Signor Bovio made this threat. Some of the members shouted, "Name them!" Others turned on Bovio with clenched fists and called him a boaster, a liar and a hypocrite. Insults were exchanged on every side, and a dozen or more fights were prevented only by the intervention of a few cool men. After endeavoring in vain for five minutes to restore order, the President of the Chamber suspended the sitting, when the members yielded to the importunities of his friends and declined to continue his speech. The Bank bill was then passed by the vote of 237 to 174, and the Chamber adjourned for the summer holidays.

A MAILORY STEAMER ADRIFF.

THE STATE OF TEXAS DISABLED OFF THE COAST OF MAINE IN A GALE—A TUG BOAT IN FOR THE STEAMER.

San Harbor, Me., July 8.—The steamship state of Texas, of the Mailory Line, New York, disabled, and is drifting off the coast of Mount Desert Island. The Texas has been running on the route from New York to San Harbor, Eastport and St. John, and takes the place of the Whitcomb, of the same line, which was burned at Eastport about three weeks ago. She has been doing an enormous business, especially carrying horses, carriages and general freight of the San Harbor catfishers. She left San Harbor Thursday about 4 o'clock, bound for New York. A light freight, and was away off the coast and at St. John, when her propeller broke, completely disabling her. The mate failed a fishing cleaver and was taken into the water, and the ship drifted during the day, and worked under what few sails she has, till the night when she was sighted by the State of Texas, which is twenty-five miles from San Harbor, when her propeller broke, completely disabling her. 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